

Christopher Logue, Alexander Pope, and the Making of *War Music*

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ABSTRACT

Between 1959 and 2011, the English poet Christopher Logue published a series of poems based on Homer's *Iliad*, to which he eventually gave the collective title *War Music*. These are radical recastings of Homer's epic (Logue resisted the term 'translation' and referred to them as 'accounts') and they seem at first sight to constitute a violent rejection of an earlier tradition of translation. One especially unusual aspect of Logue's creative process was the way he pieced *War Music* together from a wide variety of sources, often physically incorporating fragments of earlier texts into his manuscript. This essay offers a sketch of Logue's working methods, drawing on unpublished archival materials in order to stress the diversity of his sources (which encompassed both canonical literary texts and printed ephemera). I argue that one major influence on Logue's approach to translation was the example of Alexander Pope, whose translation of the *Iliad* (1715–20) Logue knew intimately; Pope, like Logue, incorporated fragments of earlier literature into his translation. Having established the similarity in their working methods, I show (by reference to Logue's annotated copy of Pope's *Iliad*) that Logue was acutely aware of Pope's particular approach to translation.

Christopher Logue's *War Music*, composed in fits and starts between 1959 and 2011, is not quite a translation of Homer's *Iliad*. In 1959, Logue was commissioned by a young producer named Donald Carne-Ross to produce a version of a passage from book 22 of the *Iliad*, in which Achilles fights the River Scamander. The success of that piece, which was broadcast on the BBC's Third Programme, encouraged Logue to undertake further versions of Homer over the following five decades; he gave these various instalments the over-arching title *War Music*.¹ These are radical

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- 1 It may be useful to give a brief chronology of the development of *War Music*. Logue published the following instalments: *Patrocleia* (London, 1962) corresponds to *Iliad* 16; *Pax* (London, 1967) corresponds to

reworkings of the *Iliad*, in which Logue takes the essential narrative of Homer's poem and uses it as the basis for a strikingly original work, retaining ideas and phrases which interest him, importing others from elsewhere in the poem—or from elsewhere entirely. Logue knew no Greek, so he worked from a number of well-known English translations (above all, those of George Chapman and Alexander Pope) and, in the early stages of the project, from a word-for-word crib prepared for him by Carne-Ross. He resisted the term translation when it came to describing his own poems, preferring to call them 'accounts'.

Despite Logue's unwillingness to call himself a translator, *War Music* was enthusiastically championed in the 1960s by critics seeking to demonstrate the significance of translation as a mode of imaginative literature. Chief among these was Donald Carne-Ross, who left the BBC in 1959 to pursue a career as a classicist at the University of Texas in Austin. Carne-Ross was instrumental in founding two journals: *Arion* (which he established together with William Arrowsmith) and *Delos*. Both journals published early work by Logue, along with translations by poets such as (among many others) Peter Porter, Robert Fagles, and Peter Whigham. They also featured essays on the theory and practice of translation, by scholars such as Carne-Ross, Arrowsmith, and H. A. Mason. Logue's translations from Homer were of particular interest to these scholars—and featured regularly on the pages of these journals—precisely because they stretched accepted definitions of what a translation might be. In the second issue of *Arion*, Carne-Ross published an essay in which he proposed *War Music* as the ultimate example of translation which 'risks everything in its effort towards the greatest possible recreation of the original'; I will return to Carne-Ross' essay in due course.² Logue's accounts of Homer were at the centre of a project which sought to establish the creative value of translation—and which is at least partly responsible for the close scholarly attention paid to the subject over the past few decades.³ This growing body of scholarship has paid attention both to contemporary translations from the classics and to the work of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poets, above all John Dryden and Alexander Pope. And my

Iliad 19. *GBH* is an account of the fight over the body of Patroclus in *Iliad* 17–18, and was published in the *Kenyon Review* 2.1 (1980), 92–116. *War Music* (London, 1981) is an account of *Iliad* 16–19, incorporating (in revised form) *Patrocleia*, *GBH*, and *Pax. Kings* (London, 1991) corresponds to *Iliad* 1 & 2. *The Husbands* (London, 1994) corresponds to *Iliad* 3 & 4. All these works were subsequently published as *War Music* (London, 2001). Later accounts are harder to map directly onto specific books of the *Iliad*: *All Day Permanent Red* (London, 2002) deals with 'the first battle scenes of Homer's *Iliad*'—mostly from books 5 and 6; *Cold Calls* (London, 2005) contains elements of books 5, 8, and 9. All of the titles listed above, along with a small selection of unpublished draft materials towards further instalments, were published as *The Collected War Music* (London, 2015), following Logue's death in 2011; unless otherwise stated, quotations from *War Music* are from the 2015 edition, abbreviated as CWM.

2 Donald Carne-Ross, 'Structural Translation: Christopher Logue's *Patrocleia*', *Arion* 1.2 (1962), 27–38, reprinted in *Classics and Translation: Essays by D.S. Carne-Ross*, ed. by Kenneth Haynes (Lewisburg, PA, 2010), 152–64, 161.

3 So much work has been published on this topic that I can do no more than single out a handful of especially important interventions: Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 1995); Paul Davis, *Translation and the Poet's Life: The Ethics of Translating in English Culture, 1646–1726* (Oxford, 2008); Matthew Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation: From Chaucer & Petrarch to Logue & Homer* (Oxford, 2011). Equally significant is the journal *Translation and Literature*, established in 1992 under the editorship of Stuart Gillespie.

contention in this essay is that the radical freedom of *War Music* can best be understood by reference to an earlier tradition of creative translation.

One of the most immediately arresting features of *War Music* is Logue's constant use of anachronism. We might consider, for example, the moment in *Kings* (Logue's account of *Iliad* books 1 & 2, published in 1991) when Achilles and Agamemnon confront one another in front of the assembled Greek forces:

Low ceiling. Sticky air.
Our stillness like the stillness in
Atlantis when the big wave came,
The brim-full basins of abandoned docks,
Or Christmas morning by the sea. (CWM 18)

The slip into the first person suggests an eye-witness account; this is a narrative voice which can express vividly, from a footsoldier's perspective, the suddenly claustrophobic atmosphere on the open plains of the Troad. But it is also a narrative voice which knows of Atlantis and of Christian festivals. And Logue frequently mentions contemporary technologies (aeroplanes, skiing, surfing, film-making) in describing the events at Troy, as when describing the movement of Achilles' horses:

Consider planes at touchdown – how they poise;
Or palms beneath a numbered hurricane;
Or birds wheeled sideways over windswept heights;
Or burly salmon challenging a weir;
Right-angled, dreamy fliers, as they ride
The instep of a dying wave, or trace
Diagonals on snowslopes.
Quick cuts like these may give
Some definition to the mind's wild eye
That follow-spots Achilles' sacred pair – (CWM 271)

Logue's anachronisms are most keenly felt in his similes, and Oliver Taplin has written of the tendency for what he calls the 'Loguemic simile' to introduce 'technological time-tensions'. These anachronisms are effective because they allow Logue to enhance, as Taplin puts it, 'the simultaneous similarity and dissimilarity of simile'.⁴ That is, they force the reader/listener to engage in an active process of interpreting the narrative, and of understanding it on their own terms—a challenge which is implicit in all simile, but which Logue makes inescapable. This confrontational approach to simile is often combined with an imperative voice, as in the lines quoted above; Logue simply will not allow the reader to escape the chronological tension he has introduced. Even his characters resist the idea that they might be merely classical; Agamemnon angrily tells his men: 'Achilles speaks as if I found you on a vase./So leave his stone-age values to the sky.' (CWM 28)

This insistence on anachronism is connected to a peculiarity in Logue's working methods: his tendency to bring extraneous material into his accounts of the *Iliad*.

4 Oliver Taplin, 'Some Assimilations of the Homeric Simile in Later Twentieth-Century Poetry' in Barbara Graziosi and Emily Greenwood (eds) *Homer in the Twentieth Century: Between World Literature and the Western Canon* (Oxford, 2007), 177–90, 182.

In his autobiography, *Prince Charming* (1999), Logue gives an account of the way he composed his first Homeric piece, the battle between Achilles and the River Scamander:

As time went by, when I walked up to the Gate for a newspaper or as far as Kensington gardens for a stroll, I found myself thinking of Achilles and Scamander, running through the events listed as easily as I might the alphabet. More, I could reverse the sequence to test its strength overall, as painters hold a canvas to a mirror to inspect its composition afresh. And when this – my inspection, so to speak – provoked ideas of what might be added to it from a different part of the *Iliad*, or for that matter, from the day's newspaper, I would realize I had come without means to write, and repeating the possibilities in my head, I hurried to the nearest newsagents for a jotter and a pencil.⁵

Logue never included 'Achilles fights the River' in any collected edition of *War Music*. It is, as Matthew Reynolds has written, 'too straightforward—too narratively consecutive, and too consistent in its loosely pentametric verse' by comparison with Logue's later 'accounts' of Homer.⁶ But the working methods Logue established in 1959 would endure. Looking through his archives, it is apparent that he often failed even to make it to the shops for a notepad. He scribbled on whatever he could find: paper napkins, bus tickets, takeaway menus. And, just as often, he scribbled nothing himself, simply cutting—or tearing—an apposite turn of phrase or an adaptable image out of a newspaper or magazine. Logue inherited his interest in clippings from his father who (we learn from Logue's autobiography) 'liked to clip absurd stories from the newspapers.'⁷ Logue kept scrapbooks throughout his life, and in the 1960s was to become one of the best-known gatherers of clippings in the country; he compiled two weekly columns for *Private Eye*: True Stories and Pseud's Corner (the latter of which is still running). Each fortnight he selected a handful of newspaper clippings—some selected for their implausibility, others because they were comically pretentious—from dozens that were sent in by *Private Eye* readers. Favourite reader submissions were pasted into scrapbooks and preserved (Logue did not like to throw clippings away); several huge scrapbooks now survive in Logue's archives.

As the years went by, Logue's idiosyncratic working methods became still more pronounced: the disparate origins of his Homeric poem were ever clearer. To give one prominent example, from *All Day Permanent Red* (2002), the lines with which Logue describes Zeus surveying the Trojan plain after a day's fighting have been taken almost verbatim from a *New Yorker* piece on the first Gulf War:

Who sighs before He looks
Back to the Ridge that is, save for a million footprints,
Empty now. (CWM 176)

5 Logue, *Prince Charming* (London, 1999), 222.

6 Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation*, 224.

7 Logue, *Prince Charming*, 87.

That afternoon, Le Moyne took Linda Suttlehan on a helicopter tour. “I flew around expecting to see a battlefield,” Suttlehan told me. Instead she saw “millions of foot-prints in the sand” among hundreds of smoking vehicles.⁸

Another example comes as Helen is talking to Priam on the battlements of Troy, and pointing out the Greek warriors on the plain below:

When all seems lost, there Ido is,
Grinning among the blades, inflicting big-lipped wounds,
Keeping his hosts’ hearts high. . . (CWM 108)

Those lines have been adapted from an account of a knife-fight in Chester Himes’ *A Rage in Harlem* (1957): ‘One joker slashed the other’s arm. A big lipped wound opened in the tight leather jacket.’⁹ Nor are the borrowings purely from printed sources. The title of Logue’s 2002 instalment seems at first to be an indistinct but evocative description of the angry haze of Homeric battles scenes: *All Day Permanent Red*. But the phrase is in fact the name of an Estée Lauder lipstick used by Logue’s wife.¹⁰ By the time Logue came to write *All Day Permanent Red*, he was physically assembling his accounts of Homer out of his various notes and clippings. Snippets from adverts and magazines, together with post-it notes on which Logue had written his found phrases, were first organized in ring-binders and eventually pasted onto spools of printer paper to create immensely long collages, which Logue described as ‘flow-charts’. The *New Yorker* clipping quoted above is part of the physical fabric of Logue’s manuscript (Figs. 1 and 2).

In Logue’s archives, which are scattered across four institutions, there are several folders of similes which did not ultimately find a place in the poem. In one folder, held by the Paterno Library in State College, Pennsylvania, there are two magazine clippings describing a performance by the Irish singer Sinéad O’Connor. On 16 October 1992, O’Connor was booked to perform at a concert in New York to mark the thirtieth anniversary of Bob Dylan’s first record. She was booed when she came onstage, the audience’s hostility apparently stemming from her recent remarks about cases of child abuse in the Roman Catholic church (on 3 October, she had inflamed public opinion in the United States by tearing up a picture of Pope John Paul II on live television). Instead of performing, as planned, a version of Dylan’s ‘I Believe in You’, O’Connor instead sang an acapella version of Bob Marley’s ‘War’, altering the lyrics to refer to child abuse. Alongside the clippings in Logue’s folder is a scrap of paper containing a few lines of verse, as follows:

As when a singer, a woman (and Irish)
Stands before an audience of thousands
In the world’s greatest city (the richest)
And tells them that: their religion is shit,

8 Seymour Hersh, ‘Overwhelming Force’, *New Yorker*, 22 May 2000, 49–82. James Campbell drew Logue’s attention to this article in a letter dated 27 May 2000: ‘It says quite a lot about the behaviour of men in battle. I’m in the middle of it, but can pass it on.’

9 Chester Himes, *A Rage in Harlem* (Harmondsworth, 2011), 219. Logue mentions the borrowing in an interview with James Campbell: ‘Letter from London: Christopher Logue, Classic Upstart’, *Antioch Review* 60.2 (2002), 333–39, 337.

10 Rosemary Hill, personal correspondence, 13 November 2015.

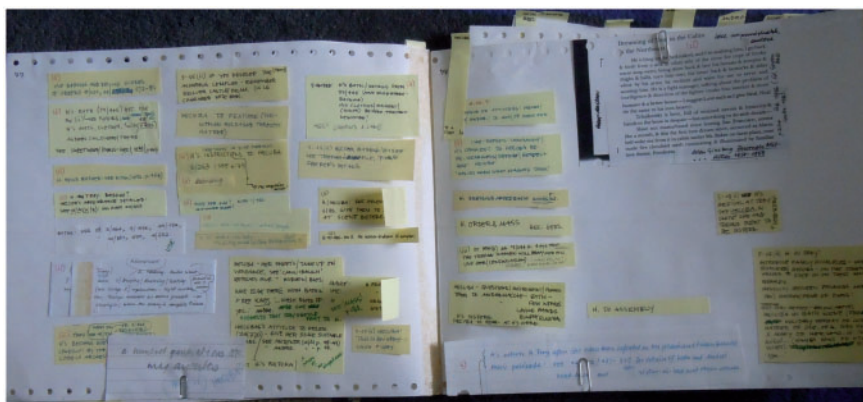


Fig. 1. A section of one of Logue's 'flow-charts'. Photo: Rosemary Hill.

Their children get raped, their wealth is
 Their wealth is poison.
 And they are silent. Completely silent.
 There in the dark. Quite silent.¹¹

This false start—unmistakeably a Homeric (or 'Loguemic') simile—is never included in any of Logue's instalments. Not can I find its traces in any simile which was included. However, it casts an interesting light on Logue's working practices, showing quite how far he was prepared to cast his net in his search for a compelling point of reference.¹²

Like the Sinead O'Connor simile, most of the ephemera preserved in Logue's archives cannot be connected to a particular moment in *War Music*. Even the scraps of newspaper which have been physically incorporated into Logue's flowcharts do not always assert themselves in the published text. The flowcharts for *All Day Permanent Red*, for example, contain large numbers of clippings from cosmetics adverts, which seem to have been a particular preoccupation at that time, but only rarely do we get a glimpse of these beauty products ('To the sigh of the string, see Panda's shot float off [...] and then/Carry a tunnel the width of a lipstick through Quist's neck.' CWM 144). Carefully preserved in another folder in the Paterno Library is a 1997 copy of *Fireside: The Magazine of the Solid Fuel Association*, which advertises on its cover an interview with the English comedian and broadcaster Les Dennis.¹³ What connection does this have with *War Music*? Logue does not—at least obviously—draw on the piece in either his 2002 or his 2005 instalments, and one might take the cynical view that it is there merely to swell an archive at the moment of purchase. But the preservation of so much detritus, irrespective of its eventual place in the work, could alternatively point to a conviction that an account of Homer ought to draw on every possible resource.

11 Paterno Library, Uncategorized folder.

12 Christopher Reid includes two further sample similes in his edition (CWM 309).

13 'Flames of Fortune: Fireside talks with top gameshow host Les Dennis', *Fireside: The Magazine of the Solid Fuel Association*, Autumn/Winter 1997.

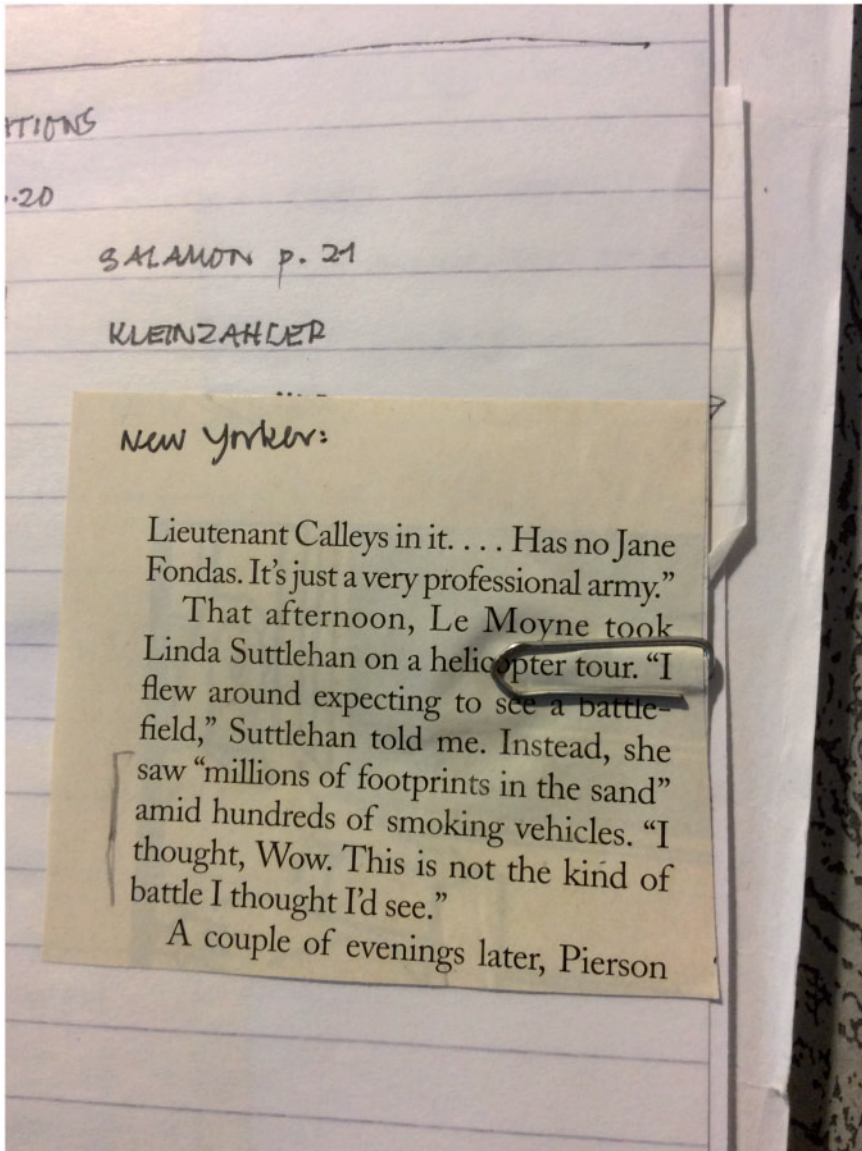


Fig. 2. A detail from Logue's plan for All Day Permanent Red, featuring an excerpt from the *New Yorker*.

Logue's found phrases were not purely taken from topical or ephemeral sources. When Agamemnon shouts Achilles down—'Blindmouth!/Good words would rot your tongue'—his words are half-borrowed from Milton's 'Lycidas', in which bishops are attacked as 'Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold/A sheep-hook' while their flock 'Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread'.¹⁴ To give another

14 John Milton, *The Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. by John Carey, 2nd edn (London, 1997), 243–56, lines 119–27.

example, when Hector prays ‘Blind as the Cyclops with fraternal tears’ (CWM 156), Logue is remembering (as he often does) a line from Dryden—on this occasion from *Astraea Redux*: ‘Blind as the Cyclops, and as wild as he,/They owned a lawless salvage liberty.’¹⁵ And one of Logue’s bloodiest battle scenes has an unexpected Augustan source:

Slip into the fighting.
 Into a low-sky site crammed with huge men,
 Half-naked men, brave, loyal, fit, slab-sided men,
 Men who came face to face with gods, who spoke with gods,
 Leaping onto each other like wolves
 Screaming, kicking, slicing, hacking, ripping
 Thumping their chests:
 ‘I am full of the god!’
 Blubbering with terror as they beg for their lives:
 ‘Laid his trunk open from shoulder to hip –
 Like a beauty-queen’s sash.’ (CWM 166)

This passage is typical of *War Music* both in its unflinching depiction of violence and in its startlingly post-Homeric imagery—the gaping, diagonal wound as long as ‘a beauty queen’s sash’. But the battle-cry let out by these warriors is taken from a later moment in Pope’s translation of the *Iliad*, when Neptune is inspiring the Greeks to resist Trojan attacks on their encampment:

Full of the God that urg’d their burning Breast,
 The Heroes thus their mutual Warmth express’d. (13. 115–16)¹⁶

In a few cases, Logue identifies his borrowings in notes at the end of the poem. Of the three examples given above, for example, he refers the reader to *Astraea Redux* and to Pope’s Homer, but does not note the allusion to *Lycidas*. Logue only provided notes for *War Music* from *The Husbands* (1994) onwards, and they are evidently incomplete. Forty-two sources are listed, but given Logue’s breadth of reference and given the mosaic nature of his manuscripts it is unlikely that these represent more than a tiny fraction of Logue’s borrowings.

Some of those forty-two notes have been supplied by Logue’s editor, Christopher Reid, working from the poet’s annotated copy of the 2001 *War Music*. Reid speaks of the poem’s ‘range of allusion’—but we should perhaps question the usefulness of that term to describe Logue’s redeployments. Allusion, after all, suggests a particular and deliberate mode of reference in which, as Marcus Walsh has written, ‘an author communicates with a knowing reader—a reader, that is, who recognizes the object of the allusion, and very possibly its textual context, and is in a position to make sense of the use to which the alluding author has put it.’¹⁷ Occasionally, Logue’s

15 *The Poems of John Dryden, Volume 1: 1649-1681*, ed. by Paul Hammond (London, 1995), 37–54, lines 45–6.

16 Unless otherwise stated, quotations from Pope’s *Iliad* are taken from *The Twickenham Edition of the Works of Alexander Pope, Volumes VIII–X: Translations of Homer*, ed. by Maynard Mack (London, 1967).

17 Marcus Walsh, ‘Allusion’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. by Jack Lynch (Oxford, 2016), 649–66, 652.

borrowings do operate according to this set of rules; the reference to *Lycidas* might *perhaps* cause readers to associate Achilles' selfishness with that of the Anglican clergy attacked by Milton. But for the most part there is little sense that Logue depends on (to use Samuel Johnson's phrase) a 'community of mind' among his readers.¹⁸ On the one hand, Logue's patchwork of sources is the product of a particular consciousness which could never be replicated in any reader: the Gulf War, Sinead O'Connor, early Dryden, the contents of his wife's handbag. On the other hand, Logue seems to look back to an earlier conception of Homer as a universal poet, who can only be properly translated or fully comprehended by a poet drawing upon all the resources of his language.

Three immediate reasons for Logue's collage technique suggest themselves. The first is related to his biography and cast of mind. Logue was, as we have seen, a life-long collector of clippings. Secondly, Logue regularly identified himself as a modernist (albeit a late modernist), and particularly as a follower of Ezra Pound. No doubt his fascination with the idea of assembling a poem from pre-existing scraps was fuelled by his reading of Pound's *Cantos*—another long poem which might reasonably be described as Homeric (at least in its scale) and which is partly assembled from quotations, fragments and linguistic found objects. A third reason is connected to Logue's understanding of the composition of the Homeric poems. His reading on Homeric oral formulae prompted him to consider the parallels between Homer's technique and his own.¹⁹ In 1969, he wrote (in an introduction to *Pax* that was never published):

Homer composed the poem in his head and published it with his mouth. No doubt he worked the same way as literalistic poets, trying this beside that, swapping this for that until it was as good as he could get it. Performance would have played a critical function. Testing a section in public would lead to revision.²⁰

This view of Homer, while it no doubt has its basis in Logue's reading, also reflects his own practice of 'swapping this for that', and suggests that Logue saw his own working practices as fundamentally similar to Homer's. Logue may not have worked in his head—indeed his working methods generated paper on an extraordinary scale—but the various sections of *War Music* went through countless iterations. For every page of verse, Logue wrote (and preserved) several slightly different drafts (sometimes as many as 50), which record his gradual alterations to the text. It seems that Logue regarded the act of assembling his text—brought together from so many disparate sources, and obsessively reworked—as a kind of Homeric performance.

18 Quoted in James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 6 vols, ed. by George Birkbeck Hill, rev. ed. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934), IV, 102.

19 Logue seems to have been influenced especially strongly by Ann Chalmers Watts, *The Lyre and the Harp: A Comparative Reconsideration of Oral Tradition in Homer and Old English Epic Poetry* (New Haven, CT, 1969).

20 Unpublished introduction to *Pax* c. 1969, Harry Ransom Center, Christopher Logue Collection, Container 3.7.

But there is a further (and more compelling) reason for Logue's patchwork approach to translation. As we have seen, one of the major ways in which Logue approached the text of the *Iliad* was via Pope's translation, first published between 1715 and 1720. Indeed—as we have also seen—lines of Pope's Homer can be found embedded in Logue's 'accounts'. But Pope was not merely one of a number of earlier translators whose versions Logue pondered and plundered. Logue was drawn to Pope by the earlier poet's use of pre-existing literary resources as material for his own translation. In the final section of this essay, I will examine Logue's idiosyncratic (and often inconsistent) approach to Pope's Homer—and suggest that Logue modelled his own working practices on those of Pope. First, it will be helpful to establish the way in which Pope drew on earlier writing in assembling his translation.

There has been plenty of hostility towards Pope's *Iliad* over the past three centuries. Much of it has been focused on Pope's supposed alteration of the poem's essential character. Richard Bentley's (probably apocryphal) remark—'a pretty poem, but he must not call it Homer'—has had plenty of followers. Edward Young, disliking the 'effeminate decoration' of Pope's heroic couplets, suggests that their effect is 'to put Achilles in petticoats a second time.'²¹ Young's remark is part of a long tradition of criticism which casts Pope's additions as fashionable or feminine decorations. Peter Levi described Pope's translation as 'Homer in Silver Gilt.'²² Leslie Stephen suggested that Pope had attempted 'a deliberate elevation of the bard by high-heeled shoes and a full-bottomed wig'.²³ A contemporary attack on Pope for needlessly embellishing Homer comes from the anonymous author of *The Poet finish'd in Prose*, published in 1729, who complains:

Homer presents us with solid, substantial Food; Viands appropriate to such Heroes as his own: Then comes *Pope*, and by a whimsical kind of poetical Chymistry, converts it into a *Whip-Syllabub*, fit only for the nicer Palates of *Ladies* and *Beaux*.²⁴

Samuel Johnson defended Pope against such attacks when he wrote in his 1781 *Life* of Pope that 'Homer doubtless owes to his translator many Ovidian graces not exactly suitable to his character; but to have added can be no great crime if nothing be taken away.' Johnson was acutely aware of Pope as having added to Homer from extraneous sources, and elsewhere in the *Life* he identifies another—more direct—source for Pope's additions: Dryden's translation of Virgil:

The chief help of Pope in this arduous undertaking was drawn from the versions of Dryden. Virgil had borrowed much of his imagery from Homer, and part of the debt was now paid by his translator. Pope searched the pages of Dryden for

21 Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, 2nd edn (London, 1759), 59.

22 Peter Levi, 'Homer in Silver-Gilt,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 January 1973.

23 Leslie Stephen, *Alexander Pope* (Cambridge, 1880), 74. These attacks on Pope's Homer are catalogued by David Hopkins, 'A Translator's Annotation: Alexander Pope's Observations on His *Iliad*' in Michael Edson (ed.), *Annotation in Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Bethlehem, 2017), 105–28, 106.

24 *The Poet finish'd in Prose, Being a Dialogue Concerning Mr Pope and his Writings* (London, 1735), 37.

happy combinations of heroic diction, but it will not be denied that he added much to what he found. He cultivated our language with so much diligence and art that he has left in his *Homer* a treasure of poetical elegances to posterity.²⁵

We can see an obvious example of Pope borrowing from Dryden's Virgil in his version of *Iliad* 22. This is the poem's climax, the moment when Achilles addresses Hector before killing him:

Talk not of Oaths (the dreadful Chief replies,
While Anger flash'd from his disdainful Eyes),
Detested as thou art, and ought to be,
Nor Oath nor Pact *Achilles* plights with thee:
Such Pacts, as Lambs and rabid Wolves combine,
Such Leagues, as Men and furious Lions join,
To such I call the Gods! one constant state
Of lasting Rancour and eternal Hate:
No thought but Rage, and never-ceasing Strife,
Till Death extinguish Rage, and Thought, and Life.
Rouze then thy Forces this important Hour,
Collect thy Soul, and call forth all thy Power.
No further Subterfuge, no further Chance;
'Tis *Pallas*, *Pallas* gives thee to my Lance.
Each *Grecian* ghost, by thee depriv'd of Breath,
Now hovers round, and calls thee to thy Death. (22. 333–48)

In the Greek, Achilles tells Hector simply, 'now you will pay me in full for all/the sufferings of my companions you killed in your spear-frenzy.' (*Iliad* 22. 271–2: νῦν δ' ἀθρόα πάντ' ἀποτίσεις/κῆδε' ἐμῶν ἐτάρων οὓς ἔκτανες ἔγχεϊ θύων.) Pope paints a picture of Hector surrounded by the ghosts of Greek warriors, summoning him to death, which we will not find in Homer. It is clear enough where this idea comes from if we look at the equivalent moment in Dryden's *Aeneid*, bearing in mind that the *Aeneid*'s structural debt to the *Iliad* is especially conspicuous at this moment. In the closing lines of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas has Turnus at his mercy. On the point of sparing him, he suddenly sees that Turnus is wearing the sword-belt of his young friend Pallas—whom Turnus has killed earlier in the poem. This recollection of Pallas causes Aeneas to kill Turnus in a fit of rage:

Then, rowz'd anew to Wrath, he loudly cries
(Flames, while he spoke, came flashing from his Eyes)
Traytor, dost thou, dost thou to Grace pretend,
Clad, as thou art, in Trophees of my Friend?
To his sad Soul a grateful Offring go!
'Tis *Pallas*, *Pallas* gives this deadly Blow.
He rais'd his Arm aloft; and at the Word,
Deep in his Bosom drove the shining Sword.

25 Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford, 2006), IV, 73. The significance of this passage—and especially of its insistently financial language—was brought home to me in a paper given by Ian Calvert at a meeting of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in January 2016.

The streaming Blood distain'd his Arms around,
And the disdainful Soul came rushing thro' the Wound. (12. 1368–77)²⁶

In Virgil and in Dryden, Pallas's presence is invoked at this critical moment—he, rather than Aeneas, is described as delivering the final blow. By referring to the goddess Pallas Athene simply as Pallas, Pope is able to conjure up the presence of this young Etruscan prince again in the *Iliad*—reminding the attentive reader that Achilles' rage has been renewed by Hector's slaying of Pallas' Homeric counterpart, Patroclus. At the same time, the adjective applied to Turnus' soul as it leaves his body—*disdainful*—is applied by Pope to Achilles; this reader is reminded that, although it is Aeneas who commits a sudden act of Iliadic violence at the end of Virgil's epic, Turnus also resembles Achilles in his wrath. Homer does not mention Achilles' *menis* at this point, though it is clearly what drives him, but Pope introduces it by reference to its most famous later manifestation—the anger that flashes from Aeneas' eyes. As is often the case with Pope's additions to his translation, he supplements the Homeric text in a way which enables him to strengthen a fundamental aspect of the passage. But for all this, the most important function of the borrowing is not the direct allusion to a specific moment in Virgil's epic. It is the sense—which even an inattentive reader might get—that Homer's epic must contain within it the traces of all subsequent epics. As Felicity Rosslyn writes, Pope 'does not expect the specific meaning of Dryden's line to be uppermost in our memory, but the pattern of its words and the sombreness of its context.'²⁷

As Johnson says, this elaborate incorporation of earlier poetry is a way of acknowledging the debt owed by subsequent poets to Homer; Pope plays this trick regularly, and not only with Virgil. Pope illustrates his deeply held belief that Homer is the originator of all subsequent poetry by making his own English translation a destination or repository for such poetry. Pope had written in the *Essay on Criticism* (1711) of Homer as the source of all subsequent literature:

Be Homer's works your *Study* and *Delight*.
Read them by Day, and meditate by Night;
Thence form your Judgment, thence your maxims bring,
And trace the Muses *upward* to their *Spring*.²⁸

As Pope knew, there was also a tradition of regarding Homer as the Ocean, in which all forms of literature can be found. As the first-century BC critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus put it (quoting Homer's own description of Ocean from book 22 of the *Iliad*): 'The summit and target of all authors, 'from whom all rivers and every sea/and all springs' may rightly be said to be Homer.'²⁹ Pope's translation of Homer itself becomes a kind of Ocean, in which we can find the various styles and tropes which ultimately sprung from the Homeric epics. His aim is, as Felicity Rosslyn has

26 Quotations from Dryden's *Aeneid* are taken from *The Works of John Dryden: Volumes V and VI: The Works of Virgil in English, 1697*, ed. by William Frost and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley, CA, 1987).

27 Felicity Rosslyn, 'The Making of Pope's *Iliad*', unpublished PhD thesis (Cambridge, 1978), 160. Rosslyn's thesis painstakingly charts Pope's sources for the final four books of his *Iliad*.

28 *The Twickenham Edition of the Works of Alexander Pope, Volume I: Pastoral Poetry and An Essay On Criticism*, ed. by E. Audra and Aubrey Williams (London, 1961), 239–6, lines 124–7.

29 Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 24, quoting Hom. *Il.* 21. 196–7.

written, 'to alert us to the origins of our own culture by showing us how the symbols and images, genres and styles of western literature are all lying in embryo there.'³⁰ A good example of this kind of programmatic re-usage comes in the final moments of *Iliad* 1, when Hephaestus recalls the time he was hurled from Olympus by an angry Zeus:

Once in your cause I felt his matchless Might,
Hurl'd headlong downward from th'Ethereal height:
Tost all the Day in Rapid Circles round;
Nor 'till the sun descended, touch'd the ground:
Breathless I fell, in giddy Motion lost;
The *Sinthians* rais'd me on the *Lemnian* coast. (1. 760–65)

Pope gives this passage a distinctly Miltonic flavour. Jove's punishment of Vulcan recalls the first account of Lucifer's fall: 'Him the almighty power/Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky' (*Paradise Lost* 1. 44–5). In doing so, he reminds readers of the fact that Milton borrowed from the end of *Iliad* 1 at exactly the same point in his own epic. Towards the end of the first book of *Paradise Lost*, Milton tells the story of Mulciber, the heavenly architect whose fall has apparently been misappropriated by classical poets.

Nor was his name unheard or unadored
In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell
From heaven, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements: from morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A summer's day; and with the setting sun
Dropped from the zenith like a falling star,
On Lemnos the Ægean isle: thus they relate,
Erring (Paradise Lost 1. 739–47)

Milton develops the story in order to insist—with a jolt—on its falsity. When Pope comes to translate the passage he brings in the account of Lucifer's fall, making it clear that—for all his apparent scepticism about the value of pagan myth—Milton's epic is heavily indebted to Homer.

Perhaps the most famous instance of Pope's mosaic technique comes at the end of book 8. The Trojan troops have camped out on the plain outside the city walls, having lit watch fires for the night ahead. Homer tells us that the fires are as numerous as the stars that are visible on a moonlit night, undisturbed by wind or cloud. Pope renders the passage as follows:

The Troops exulting sate in order round,
And beaming Fires illumin'd all the Ground.
As when the Moon, refulgent Lamp of Night!
O'er Heav'ns clear Azure spreads her sacred Light,
When not a Breath disturbs the deep Serene;
And not a Cloud o'ercasts the solemn Scene;

30 Felicity Rosslyn, *Pope's Iliad: A Selection with Commentary* (Bristol, 1985), xiii.

Around her Throne the vivid Planets roll,
 And Stars unnumber'd gild the glowing Pole,
 O'er the dark Trees a yellower Verdure shed,
 And tip with Silver ev'ry Mountain's Head;
 Then shine the Vales, the Rocks in Prospect rise,
 A Flood of Glory bursts from all the Skies:
 The conscious Swains, rejoicing in the Sight,
 Eye the blue Vault, and bless the Useful Light.
 So many Flames before proud *Ilion* blaze,
 And lighten glimm'ring *Xanthus* with their Rays.
 The long Reflections of the distant Fires
 Gleam on the Walls, and tremble on the Spires.
 A thousand Piles the dusky Horrors gild,
 And shoot a shady Lustre o'er the Field.
 Full fifty Guards each flaming Pile attend,
 Whose umber'd Arms, by Fits, thick Flashes send.
 Loud neigh the Coursers o'er their Heaps of Corn,
 And Ardent Warriors wait the rising Morn (8. 685–708)

When Pope translated this passage, he stressed in the accompanying note that this 'night-piece', as he described it, is among the best things in the *Iliad*.

This comparison is inferior to none in *Homer*. It is the most beautiful Nightpiece that can be found in Poetry. He presents you with a Prospect of the Heavens, the Seas, and the Earth: The Stars shine, the Air is serene, the World enlighten'd, and the Moon mounted in Glory. (note on 687)

For several decades after the publication of the translation, Pope's view of the passage was widely echoed. But although Pope's own translation was regarded as an especially effective one during the remainder of the eighteenth century, the passage would later become the focus of the Romantic rebellion against Pope's *Homer*. It was with this 'night-piece' in mind that Coleridge described Pope's *Homer* as the 'source of much of our pseudo-poetic diction'—adding that 'it is difficult to determine whether [...] the sense or the diction be more absurd'.³¹ Matthew Arnold wrote in 'On Translating Homer' that 'It is for passages of this sort, which after all form the bulk of the poem, that Pope's style is so bad'.³²

That diction which Coleridge and Arnold so disliked is, above all, a distinctly literary mode of diction, in which Pope draws on pre-existing poetic resources in order to render Homer. Various critics have attempted to identify the patchwork of sources in this passage, which is as H. A. Mason wrote 'composed uniquely of the best ingredients'.³³ Pope's *conscious Swains* have wandered over from *Windsor Forest*. The arms

31 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria: or, Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions*, ed. by James Engell and Walter Jackson Bate, 2 vols (London, 1983), I, 18.

32 Matthew Arnold, *Complete Prose Works, Volume I: On the Classical Tradition*, ed. by R. H. Super (Ann Arbor, MI, 1960), 111.

33 H. A. Mason, *To Homer through Pope*, 67. On this passage see further Mack (ed.), *Translations of Homer*, VII, liii–lxii; Robin Sowerby, *The Augustan Art of Poetry: Augustan Translation of the Classics* (Oxford,

of the Trojan warriors, *umber'd* by the fire, recall the scene around the campfires on the night before Agincourt, as described in Henry V: 'Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames/Each battle sees the other's umber'd face'. *Heavn's clear azure* is taken from *Paradise Lost* 1. 297 (where Satan's feet move 'Over the burning marl, not like those steps/On heaven's azure'). The strange use of 'the deep Serene' glances back to Milton's Invocation to Light in *Paradise Lost* 3. 25 ('So thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs'). The word *refulgent* appears throughout Dryden's Virgil—especially in the particular sense of a bright object transmitting light through darkness. Thus in *Aeneis* 6, we hear how (during the Trojan war) Idaeus' 'refulgent Arms flash'd thro' the shady Plain' (6. 660) while Pallas Athene can be seen 'refulgent through the Cloud' during the sack of Troy (2. 834).

The passage became famous—and ultimately notorious—not only because Pope singled it out as one of the finest in Homer, but also because Samuel Johnson included a transcription from the manuscript in his *Life of Pope*, in order to show readers (as he puts it) 'by what gradations it advanced to correctness'.³⁴ As we have seen, Johnson has a keen (and admiring) sense of Pope's borrowings and withdrawals, and it seems likely that he chose this passage (one of only four from the whole of Pope's Homer to be included) precisely because the manuscript allows readers to appreciate Pope's elaboration of his first attempt—frequently through the inclusion of extraneous material. He asks us to admire the gradual transitions by which (to give one example) 'As when in stillness of the silent night' becomes 'As when the moon, refulgent lamp of light'. Hester Thrale Piozzi (like many pre-Romantic readers) liked the passage, and objected to Johnson's demystification of it, writing that 'Johnson says 'tis pleasant to see the progress of such a mind: true; but 'tis a malicious pleasure. Such as Men feel when they watch a woman at her toilet'.³⁵ Again, the suggestion is that Pope has subjected Homer to a process of specifically feminine embellishment.

Though one can understand Thrale Piozzi's cavils, it is indeed useful to understand how Pope came to assemble his translations. It does not detract from his achievement to acknowledge that what Johnson calls *correctness* is frequently the result of multiple minute borrowings. Indeed, such borrowings are a major part of Pope's Homeric project—to demonstrate that Homer is the source of all subsequent literature by making the reverse also true.

In Pope's *Iliad*, as with *War Music*, normal definitions of allusion do not apply. Is Pope's reference to the *umber'd* arms of the Trojan warriors a prompt to recall the scene before Agincourt? Does his use of the word *refulgent* transport the reader to a particular moment in Dryden's Virgil? Not really. Maynard Mack, in the introduction to his edition of the Homeric poems is wary of describing Pope's borrowings as being 'in any precise rhetorical sense' allusions.³⁶ *Allusion*, as we have seen, suggests a kind of conspicuous or performative engagement. Pope was able to assume a 'community of mind' with his readers to a far greater extent than most poets. Indeed,

2005), 301–10; David Hopkins, 'Homer' in David Hopkins and Charles Martindale (eds), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature, Volume 3: 1660-1790* (Oxford, 2012), 169–96, 188–91.

34 Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, IV, 17.

35 *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs Piozzi), Volume 1: 1776-1784*, ed. by Katharine C. Balderston (Oxford, 1951), I, 464 (10 December 1780).

36 Pope, *Translations of Homer*, ed. Mack, I, lix.

with the possible exception of Dryden, it is hard to think of another poet who makes such startling and sophisticated use of allusion. But, in the translations from Homer, Pope's engagements with earlier literature serve a different purpose. As Mack describes it:

We cannot assume that all, or perhaps any, of them are intended to be noticed; they occur by the hundreds in a verse whose vocabulary and content are potentially allusive at every moment, being derived from all the poets Pope had ever read and notably the epic poets. Perhaps the most that we can legitimately say of them is that they are the island and small peaks whose thrusting above the surface here, there, and everywhere gives us hints at the size of the submerged continent below. (lix)

Pope's aim is precisely to hint at that vast submerged continent—and to indicate that the world of letters from which he draws his translation of Homer has been generated by Homer in the first place.

So far this essay has described the way in which both Pope and Logue—whose techniques of composition were in many ways rather different—drew on pre-existing literary resources when writing their versions of the *Iliad* (though Logue's sources are not so strictly literary as Pope's); I have noted a similarity of approach, and any direct influence has been merely insinuated. I want to conclude by examining the way in which Logue actively positions himself in relation to Pope—as a translator of Homer, and as a radical or experimental poet.

This may seem an unlikely proposition, and in Logue's earliest writings on Homer he clings to more conventional view of Pope as an over-decorous and effeminate translator. Writing to the poet and critic Peter Levi in 1959, he dismisses his predecessor as 'Miss Pope':

One permanent failing most previous translators share (Chapman aside), is the uniformity, the of [sic] loquacious stodginess they share, from the slick unreality of Miss Pope to the turgid bumbings of Master Rieu.³⁷

It is possible that Logue is fitting his tone to his correspondent. As we have seen, Levi himself (while a great admirer of Pope) could be dismissive of the translations from Homer. On the other hand, Logue's correspondence with Donald Carne-Ross (certainly the scholar who exerted the greatest influence on *War Music*) reveals that Carne-Ross constantly urged Logue to see Pope as a radical. In 1961, Carne-Ross wrote to Logue, congratulating him on the success of *Patrocleia*, the version of *Iliad* 16 which was the first book-length instalment of *War Music*. He praises Logue's patchwork technique, noting that 'You bring in something from Ezra, a shot from an Eisenstein film, a bit of Chinese etc, yet it all seems like Homer.'³⁸ The freedom Logue exercises in importing snippets from various other sources is identified with a particular mode of translation, at odds with the prevailing trend for linguistic fidelity

37 Logue to Levi, 30 August 1959. Christopher Logue Collection, MARBL, Emory University: Box 2, Folder 2.

38 6 December 1961, Christopher Logue Collection, MARBL, Emory University: Box 2, Folder 2.

in translation—as exemplified by the Homeric translations of E. V. Rieu and Richmond Lattimore. Carne-Ross proposes to make Logue’s approach to translation the subject of a future essay:

What I would like to do is write a piece about it [i.e. Logue’s *Patrocleia*], an article discussing a kind of translation that is now hardly known: a translation which, like poetry, risks everything in its effort towards the greatest possible recreation of the original. Most translation is tastefully (or not) versified crib, useful perhaps when people can’t get at the original, but not translation in the sense that Pope, or at his best Ezra, wrote it.

In the finished article, which appeared the following year, Carne-Ross identifies *Patrocleia* as an example of ‘structural translation’, an approach in which the movement and the essence of a poem are communicated. Again, it is Pope’s translation which is held up as a model—‘not merely a brilliant poem, but the most serious translation in the language.’³⁹ Carne-Ross speaks of Pope as having ‘a double vision of the poem, as existing in its own right, and as existing—and *developing*—within the long tradition which it initiated.’ (161) This double vision of Pope’s is contrasted with the ‘translationese’ of translators like Lattimore, whose versions of Homer Carne-Ross criticized elsewhere as being ‘verse only by typographical courtesy.’⁴⁰ So it seems likely that Carne-Ross, who was intimately involved with *War Music* from the outset, would have emphasized to Logue the importance of Pope’s example—as a translator who sought to remake Homer (an exponent of ‘structural translation’) and as a poet who was prepared to take great risks in order to achieve this. Logue’s most prominent published reflections on the process of translating Homer come in his preface to *War Music*, in which he acknowledges the role played by earlier translators in the making of his poem, and indicates that he thinks Pope’s the ‘most [...] accomplished’ of the five translations he read (the others being those of George Chapman, Lord Derby, A. T. Murray, and E. V. Rieu).⁴¹ He also indicates that ‘learned gossip’ suggests that Pope knew less Greek than any of his fellow translators—something Logue clearly did not regard as a barrier to producing a good translation. Indeed Logue seems to have used Pope as shorthand for a translator who departs brilliantly from his source material. Writing in 1995 in response to a reader’s query about his influences, he assigned particular importance to Pope’s translation:

Chapman and Pope are superb English Poems. In some respects AP’s *Iliad* is his finest work: an extraordinary, original, invention. Seldom read. Study it carefully.⁴²

Invention is an odd word for a translation, and perhaps hints at Logue’s sense of Pope’s poem as a remaking (or a rediscovery) of Homer. Invention implies above all a process of ‘coming upon or finding’ (*OED* 1a). Logue perhaps recognized that

39 Carne-Ross, ‘Structural Translation’, 161.

40 Carne-Ross, ‘A Mistaken Ambition of Exactness: Richmond Lattimore’s *Odyssey*’ in *Classics and Translation*, 123–51, 133.

41 Logue, *War Music: An Account of Books 1–4 and 16–19 of Homer’s Iliad* (London, 2001), vii.

42 Wormsley Park Archives. Logue to Ms Motterhead, 2 September 1995.

Pope came upon Homer not only through close reading of the text itself, but also in his reading more widely—and as we have seen, his experience of writing *War Music* was strikingly similar.

Logue's copy of Pope's *Iliad* indicates that he took his own advice, and studied the translation carefully.⁴³ It also demonstrates his awareness of Pope as a borrower of other poets' words. Frequent marginal annotations indicate where Logue has identified a borrowing of Pope's. Thus, when it comes to Pope's famous 'Nightpiece' at the end of book 8, the line 'When not a breath disturbs the deep serene' (8. 689) is marked 'J.M.' while the line 'Whose umber'd arms, by fits, thick flashes send' (8. 706) is marked 'WS H5'. Logue identifies borrowings from Milton (in particular) at several other points.⁴⁴

Logue is also interested in the idea of Pope's Homer as a repository which can be drawn on by later poets; here we might recall Johnson's remark that Pope 'left in his Homer a treasure of poetical elegances to posterity.' We have already seen that Logue himself culled phrases directly from Pope's *Iliad* for use in *War Music*. He is also alert to the fact that other poets have done so. A couplet on the death of the Trojan warrior Asius is marked 'WBY?', though I have been unable to identify the passage in Yeats which Logue was thinking of: 'He grinds the dust distain'd with streaming gore,/And fierce in death, lies foaming on the shore.' (13. 499–500) A passage in *Iliad* 9, in which Pope describes 'the roar/Of murm'ring billows on the sounding shore' (9. 237–8), is ascribed by Logue to 'W.W.'. Again, I have not been able to find a passage in Wordsworth (or in Whitman) which has an obvious connection to the section identified by Logue. But whether or not the connections are persuasive—or traceable—it is beyond doubt that Logue (like Johnson) saw Pope's Homer as a repository of poetic images—for his own use and that of his fellow poets. And Pope seems to have been the fellow-poet with whom Logue most readily identified. The pop-artist Derek Boshier, a frequent collaborator of Logue's with whom he made several poster-poems in the 1960s, sketched Logue in the late 1960s with an image of Pope in the background. Boshier describes the sitting as follows:

I thought I might in some way reference Christopher's writings so I asked him who was his favourite poet? He said that it was Alexander Pope and I asked why and about him. I thought his description of Pope was very much like his own personality so all together I knew I wanted to include an image of Pope (Fig. 3).⁴⁵

43 The copy currently in the possession of Logue's widow, Rosemary Hill, is Alexander Pope, *The Iliad of Homer*, ed. by Steven Shankman (Harmondsworth, 1996). This edition postdates Logue's first encounter with Pope's Homer by at least three decades—but the frequent annotations nonetheless indicate that it was frequently consulted.

44 Another example (of many): *Iliad* 22. 399–400. 'As radiant Hesper shines with keener light, / Far-beaming o'er the silver host of night, / When all the starry train emblaze the sphere'. The source identified by Logue is presumably *Paradise Lost* 4. 604–6: 'now glowed the firmament / With living sapphires: Hesperus that led / The starry host, rode brightest.'

45 Derek Boshier, personal correspondence, 5 January 2018.



Fig. 3. Derek Boshier, 'Portrait of Christopher Logue' c. 1969. Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź.

There are many reasons why Logue might have felt a special affinity with the eccentric autodidact Pope. But the one that most readily suggests itself is their shared approach to the creative process of translation—the way both poets drew on all the resources of their language and culture in order to remake Homer.

Logue's most striking engagement with Pope comes in *Kings*, the 1991 account of *Iliad* 1 and 2, when Hephaestus recalls his punishment at the hands of Zeus:

And as their laughter filled the sky,
 Hephaestus lumped away remembering how,
 Angered at some unwanted fact of his,
 God tossed him out of Heaven into the void,
 And how – in words so fair they shall for ever be
 Quoted in Paradise: 'from morn
 To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
 A summer's day; and with the setting sun
 Dropped from the zenith like a falling star,
 On Lemnos' in an arc that left
 Him pincer-handed with crab-angled legs. (CWM 44)

It is plain enough that Logue has included a familiar passage from Milton in his account of Homer. As we have seen, this is only one of many Miltonic moments in *War Music*. Logue uses it to remind the reader of two things. First, he reminds us that Milton has quoted, or reworked the Homeric passage at the equivalent moment in his epic—that arch phrase 'quoted in Paradise' makes the reference inescapable; the Homeric lines are forever embedded in *Paradise Lost*. But the words will continue to be quoted in Paradise itself (which Logue uses at this moment to signify the Olympian setting of the episode) as well as in *Paradise Lost*. That is, Pope's repurposing of Milton's lines mean that they have permanently left their traces on the *Iliad*. Logue seems, at this moment, to be viewing the poem with the same 'double vision' that Carne-Ross attributed to Pope: seeing the *Iliad* both as a work that exists in its

own right, and which continues to develop as part of a tradition. This is not simply another of Logue's borrowings, but a demonstration of kinship with Pope. Both poets piece together their translation from existing literary sources in order to produce a version of Homer for their own age.

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